

# The **T** **INTERNATIONAL** **TEAMSTER**

NOVEMBER, 1943



*Official Magazine*  
 INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD  
 TEAMSTERS... CHAUFFEURS  
 WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS  
 OF AMERICA

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# The Senator Is Wrong Again

SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., a descendant of the codfish Cabots of Massachusetts, has just concluded a hypodermic course in modern military strategy.

He comes back from a quick look at the war with the propaganda that Russia could save a million American lives by permitting American use of Russian bases in our war against Japan.

That is just as silly as the recent Russian argument that we could have saved a million Russian lives by opening a second front in France a year ago.

It so happens that Russia is not fighting to save American lives any more than we are fighting to save Russian lives. Both of us were attacked and both of us are fighting our own war against the foes that attacked us.

There is no obligation on either of us to engage in reckless military adventures for the sole purpose of helping the other. Of course, if we had a military alliance with Russia, we could demand the Russian bases as a matter of right.

But Senator Lodge is very suspicious of "foreign entanglements." He has always opposed military pacts with foreign powers. He did not look ahead to the day when such an alliance might save a million American lives.

Nevertheless we are getting plenty of help from England and Russia because it is to their interest to help us, just as it is to our interest to help them.

We are all in the business of killing Germans.

England is also helping us in our business of killing Japs.

Russia, with most of the German army on her neck, cannot be expected to invite another war with Japan by giving us military bases. We think she should have given us bases to bomb the Rumanian oil fields because that operation was against Germany, with whom we are both at war.

But when a United States senator attacks Russia for not committing a foolhardy act, he shows his ignorance of world conditions and merely repeats enemy propaganda.

Lodge is no man to speak on such questions. While he opposed "entanglements" with foreign powers he also opposed the necessary defense measures to protect us while we attempted to stand alone in the world.

He has a voting record of 80 per cent wrong on the defense program of President Roosevelt prior to Pearl Harbor. And from what he has said so far, his record after Pearl Harbor will be just as wrong when the final score is tabulated.

The Cabots of Massachusetts have a reputation of being so exalted that they "speak only to God." The Massachusetts senator should continue the family tradition. He might learn something.



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CHAUFFEURS . . . WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS

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## Pres. Roosevelt Commends Labor

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To the Officers and Members  
of our International Union:

In accordance with our constitution, the  
delegates representing our International  
Brotherhood at the convention of the Amer-  
ican Federation of Labor, beg leave to sub-  
mit the following report.

Probably the most significant session in  
the history of the American Federation of  
Labor was concluded in Boston on October  
14 when the 63d annual convention ad-  
journed.

The convention dealt with the great  
questions confronting the American people  
and the world. It recommitted itself to vic-  
tory in the war and accepted its responsi-  
bility for leadership in the difficult days to  
follow.

It made impressive strides toward unity  
in the ranks of labor by accepting the Inter-  
national Association of Machinists back to  
membership and in paving the way for the  
return of the United Mine Workers.

The AFL now stands unchallenged as the  
voice of the vast majority of American  
labor, and prospects are bright that its  
stature may be increased by the return of  
the International Typographical Union, the  
Steel Workers and the Automobile Workers.

In this event, the CIO, already vastly out-  
numbered, will be but a shell of the organi-  
zation that once rose so belligerently to  
challenge the AFL.

A spirit of optimism pervaded the con-



vention and many delegates spoke confidently of the future of labor as they recalled the dark period of dual unionism through which it had passed.

The 63d annual convention drew recognition from all walks of life and the list of speakers included high officials of the federal government seeking the advice and assistance of the AFL in solving the domestic problems created in the rapid transition from a peace to a wartime economy.

The contributions of labor to the military success of current campaigns were given official recognition and in fact many speakers declared that without the staggering production of labor, victory would be more remote than it is today.

The sacrifices of labor were stressed by President William Green, who pointed out that in the feverish struggle for greater and still greater production of war supplies, labor has suffered 80,000 deaths, or four times the number of men known to have been killed in action with the enemy since Pearl Harbor.

During the same period 7,000,000 workers were injured while the battle wounded totaled only 28,226.

The figures were cited as proof that labor, too, is fighting and dying to back up the men in actual combat.

Green's remarks were made in reply to criticism from National Commander Warren H. Atherton of the American Legion of the strike record of American labor.

President Tobin, in further reply, pointed out that England, with less than a third of the population of the United States, had more men on strike.

Tobin's remarks on this subject are carried in full elsewhere in this issue, together with his discussion of the United Mine Workers and his advocacy of an amendment to the AFL constitution which would permit the executive council to check the books of affiliated internationals to determine whether they were padding their membership to increase their voting power in the convention.

A stirring tribute to the production record of labor came from President Franklin D. Roosevelt in a special message to the convention.

"The battle of production," the President said, "is being won in every shipyard, machine shop and construction outfit in this country and the skill, speed and adaptability of American working men and women have made possible the outfitting and equipment of our military forces in record time.

"The participation of the wage earners of this country not only in the production drive but in the support of the war effort by the purchase of war bonds, both out of union treasuries and out of personal subscriptions is one of the items of American life of which we are very proud.

"In this free country we are proving ourselves able to do voluntarily all that is necessary for the support of the great war effort and to stand back of the brave men who go into battle.

"And while I express my gratification for what you have done in the past, I know that you will share with me the expectation and the challenge that American labor will do more and more until every necessity is met, until every battle is fought, until the victory is won and the peace established.

"Increasing efforts to maintain present production levels and to increase them in some instances are necessary.

"The working people will be asked to continue to support the war effort by lending their money and by making sacrifices and modifying their personal habits.

"These sacrifices all groups in the community are making."

The President also commended labor for its adherence to the no-strike pledge and its cooperation in wage stabilization. He forecast much success in the federal efforts to stabilize prices and reduce the cost of living.

The President's words were amplified by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, Chairman Paul V. McNutt of the War Manpower Commission; Joseph D. Keenan, vice-chairman for labor of the War Production Board; U. S. Senator James M. Mead of New York, Administrator L. Metcalfe Walling of the wage and hour division of the U. S. Department of Labor, and



Arthur J. Altmeyer, chairman of the social security board.

Referring to the progress made in manpower requirements, McNutt said:

"We have come much further than those who look only at the problems of today generally realize. And much of our progress must be credited to the National Management-Labor Policy Committee and your distinguished labor representatives who sit with us on that committee.

"It was, for example, the Management-Labor Committee that on July 16 attacked labor pirating.

"Shortsighted employers, practicing the time-honored traditions of the auction block, were bidding against each other for needed workers. Turnover induced by such pirating was paralyzing production. The committee saw the threat. They saw also the dangerous inflationary spiral that would grow out of a continuation of such pirating.

"Many an employer who denounces labor today for shifting jobs and demands a good tough national service law to check it, denounced us then for interfering with his time-honored prerogative to do exactly what he pleased and when he pleased, so far as the hiring of labor was concerned."

McNutt then traced the development of the manpower program and cited the need for regulation to provide workers in necessary jobs.

He advocated a voluntary program and drew applause from the delegates when he supported the policy of taking jobs to the workers instead of workers to the jobs, as embodied in his plan of defining critical labor areas.

Altmeyer summed up the social security program with the words:

"I think we are all in agreement that the focal point of our efforts should be to provide reasonable protection against interruption of income due to sickness, accidents, old age, death and unemployment.

"We know that what we need is an effective contributory social insurance system which will spread income over periods of non-earning as well as over periods of earning."

Walling referred to the world leadership provided by Samuel Gompers for American labor after the last war and said that similar

leadership must come after this war to devise world-wide labor regulations to protect the living standards of the United States.

"There can be no denying," he said, "that labor standards of this country are the highest in the world.

"There is, of course, no reason to feel smug or complacent about this, since we are still so far from an ideal situation.

"However, these high standards are going to have a growing importance so far as our trade relations with other countries are concerned in the post-war period.

"We are well aware in this country that the labor standards for the worker in Alabama have an immediate effect on the labor standards of the worker in Massachusetts. This is the underlying reason for such a federal statute as the Fair Labor Standards Act."

Keenan told the convention that conscription had failed to cure absenteeism in England. He referred to figures showing that the British absence rate is running about 10 per cent while that of American industry for which figures are available is only 6 per cent.

In urging greater war production, he said that American labor still has a long way to go in participation in the program of the War Production Board and other government agencies.

"Part of the blame must be accepted by the unions themselves," he declared. "Too seldom are unions willing to make available top officials to serve in war agencies.

"Too often unions are eager to send men whom they can spare too easily. Too often unions do not use the channels created for their use and operated by men from labor.

"Too often unions by-pass such offices by going direct to top administrative people who are not fully aware of the facts. Too often unions simply grouse about their difficulties and fail to say anything to the people appointed to serve them."

Secretary Perkins gave labor high praise for the manner in which it had observed its no-strike pledge and she quoted figures to show how widely labor has accepted the conciliation service of the U. S. Department of Labor.



"The conciliation service records of my department show that since Pearl Harbor until last June, that service settled over 14,000 disputes which did not come to a stoppage of work—14,000 disputes which required the services of a conciliator but in which there was practically no stoppage of work," she pointed out.

"Both management and labor are deserving of thanks for that kind of a record and this preventative work by organized labor in keeping its no-strike pledge has been somewhat overlooked, perhaps, by the excess of emphasis put upon such work stoppages as we have had."

The convention approved the action of the AFL executive council in opposing modification of the Chinese exclusion act. A report of the legislative committee was adopted in which it warned against "strong appeals to the emotions of the American people to sweep aside important protective measures and safeguards that have been erected out of the necessities in our past experience as a nation and as American workers."

The committee report demanded no modification of any immigration laws.

Another resolution urged the extension of the social security system as recommended by the executive council to provide its benefits for added millions of workers.

The legislative committee also opposed passage of the bill which would give the senate power to reject all presidential appointments to positions paying more than \$4,500 a year. This measure, sponsored by anti-administration politicians, has already passed the senate and is now before the house.

The committee said it would annul valuable civil service laws. The convention adopted the report unanimously.

Support of the Dies committee was also recommended and unanimously adopted by the delegates, as was the report for repeal of the poll tax.

Maintenance of the civil service retirement system, improvement of pay and working conditions for federal employees, and approval of President Roosevelt's veto

of the Bankhead farm bill (supported by the Farm Bloc in congress to prevent price stabilization) were also recommended by the legislative committee with the unanimous approval of the convention.

A report of the committee on international labor relations protesting German atrocities against Jews and urging the right of the Jews to a national home in Palestine was adopted by the convention without dissent.

The convention demanded that the polls be kept open longer on election day to give all workers a chance to vote.

The resolutions committee urged the executive council to be on the alert to prevent a return of prohibition under the guise of a war emergency. The delegates ratified it unanimously.

Enlargement of the facilities of the U. S. Department of Labor and centralization of government labor policy was also approved as was a sharp condemnation of the National Labor Relations Board.

In disposing of a batch of resolutions on racial discrimination, the resolutions committee recommended that the convention reaffirm its 1942 action endorsing President Roosevelt's committee on fair employment practice.

The resolutions committee also pointed out that the Post-War Problems Committee of the AFL has a sub-committee to deal with discrimination and expressed the confidence that definite progress will be made.

After some discussion, the report of the committee was adopted by the convention.

A resolution to make India independent and to turn Ghandi out of jail was referred to the British Trades Union Congress for their consideration, as they are better informed on the actual conditions.

The convention reaffirmed its previous policy against independence for Puerto Rico.

Craft training for veterans and the centralization of such training under the Federal Bureau of Vocational Education and the Federal Committee on Apprentice



Training, both of which were created through the efforts of the AFL, was approved.

The convention refused to urge compulsory blood tests as embodied in a California resolution but it did recommend that all workers take blood tests, as recent examinations have revealed many persons suffering from syphilis who were unaware they had the disease.

After protracted debate, the convention accepted a resolution giving the executive council power to readmit the United Mine Workers and to iron out jurisdictional disputes between them and AFL unions. The outcome now depends on the Miners. If they insist on John L. Lewis's "take us as we are" plan, their return may be long delayed.

The Progressive Miners of America cited the AFL constitution prohibiting the chartering of a union for a jurisdiction already held by an AFL affiliate. They opposed the resolution on the ground that they hold sole and exclusive jurisdiction for coal miners and that, therefore, under the terms of the AFL constitution, the United Mine Workers could not be readmitted.

Commendation for the American Federationist, official monthly publication of the AFL, excellently edited by Bernard Tassler, was given by the convention, which urged enlargement of the publicity program of the federation.

The convention likewise approved federal aid for the public schools and ratified all phases of the report of the executive council, which dealt extensively with war labor, peacetime labor and social problems.

The final gavel fell late on the afternoon of October 14 after the re-election of President Green and all present members of the executive council and the selection of New Orleans as the city for the 1944 convention.

Your delegates desire to thank the Joint Council of Boston for its splendid entertainment and banquet and for the splendid meeting which it had arranged on Sunday afternoon, October 10, which was so very well attended. This meeting had conveyed

to it a message by President Green and President Tobin which will undoubtedly long be remembered by those who attended. The newspapers of Boston gave considerable space to the remarks made by the speakers.

The delegates attending the convention as representatives of our International Union, those who represented central bodies from all parts of the country, some of our officers of local unions who took advantage of the convention to spend their vacation there for educational purposes, were much impressed and deeply gratified at the reception they received in Boston from the officers of our local unions. The reception to President Tobin and Secretary-Treasurer Gillespie and the other officers, given by Local No. 25 at its banquet in the Hotel Vendome, will long be remembered by those who attended.

Everything taken into consideration, the convention was a success. The inspiration and encouragement the visitors received from our people in Boston will be helpful to them on their return to their respective cities throughout the country, giving them a better understanding of our membership and its officers in Massachusetts. After all, the lesson obtained is that we are one great big inter-linking family of organized teamsters and helpers, and that our power and strength, properly managed and controlled, solidified by unionism, will be able to withstand the onslaughts that will be made on us, and on all trade unionists, after the ending of this great world war.

We desire to say to our members that we attended every session scrupulously, we served on many important committees, watching and guarding the interests of our International Union. We submitted two resolutions to the convention, one dealing with the difficult problem of elections and other procedures within state federations of labor, as our International Union has had complaints during the year from several of our local unions because of conditions within certain state federations.



This was Resolution No. 71. It was referred to the newly-elected executive council for consideration during the coming year, the council to report to the next convention.

The other resolution, No. 72, would empower the president or secretary-treasurer of the federation, or the executive council, whenever they deemed it necessary and advisable, to verify the membership of a national or international union affiliated with the federation.

Many of the organizations opposed this resolution for some unknown reason, but their argument was that they did not want the federation to interfere with their autonomous rights.

This, in the opinion of the Teamsters' delegation, was a very weak argument, because as conditions stand today within the federation any organization can pay on any number of members they desire. They can pay on more than their actual membership or on less than their actual membership, and the federation, under its present system, can be refused the right to look at the ledger to find out whether or not the per capita tax being paid is in accordance

with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

This resolution caused considerable discussion when it was before the committee on laws, of which President Tobin was the chairman. Quite a number of organizations appeared in opposition to the resolution. The committee recommended that the entire subject-matter be referred to the executive council to give study thereto.

The remarks of President Tobin, as chairman of the committee on laws, before the convention, appear elsewhere in this Journal.

We desire to express our gratefulness to our membership who repose such confidence in us, and to say to them that, in our judgment, we had the respect and confidence of all organizations. We repeat, we endeavored to serve you with all the energy and thoughtfulness at our command.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. TOBIN	JOHN O'ROURKE
JOHN M. GILLESPIE	ROBERT LESTER
FRANK BREWSTER	JOHN O'BRIEN

## "F.D.R. Is My Champion," Writes Sea-Going Teamster

A CINCINNATI Teamster, serving on the *U.S.S. Rhodolite* in the Pacific theater of war, is worrying about the 1944 election more than he is worrying about the Japs, according to his recent letter to Secretary G. F. Weizenecker of Local No. 181.

"Just a line to show that I enjoy reading *THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER* you sent me," wrote William L. Wasteney. "We have been to sea for several weeks and the mail I had on my return was gratifying.

"The war news is good but the long fight in Italy has yet to come. It will take many lives and time to dislodge those Germans.

"The thing I think a lot about is the 1944 election. I cannot help but worry if the people that work for a living will get out

and elect the man who has been their friend.

"F. D. R. is still my champion!

"No matter where I am, if I am alive in 1944, I will cast my vote for him. I think every man should get out and do his best to elect our friend of union labor.

"It would be a backward step to defeat a man who has done so much to bring this war to a speedy end and also he should have a say in what kind of peace we should have.

"This isn't a question of ramming a vote down a fellow's throat; it's just labor's duty to do itself some good. I warn you now that the Tafts and their like will destroy labor. I hope and pray they will never get the chance."



# *What Are We Fighting For?*

— Not to Lick Russia and England!

BY LESTER M. HUNT

SOME people seem more concerned with peace aims than with peace. They keep asking — "What are we fighting for?"

Just on the outside chance that this question might be sincere, we'll answer it.

We are fighting because we have to fight in self-defense. We were attacked in the tropic dawn of a Sunday morning by a treacherous nation which bowed and smiled and said that all it wanted was peace — beautiful peace.

And while we were trying to perpetuate peace by honest negotiation with Jap emissaries, they killed some 3,000 of our citizens and tried to sink our navy.

We were gravely wounded — how gravely the Japs never knew until too late.

Then, while we reeled from the foul blow, Germany and Italy, like a pack of wolves closing in for the kill, declared war on us.

And yet, some damned fools ask—"What are we fighting for?"

Did they ask Poland what she was fighting for when the German luftwaffe battered Warsaw into ruins? Did they ask Greece what she was fighting for when the Roman legions invaded?

Then why do they ask us now?

It is more than a suspicion that this question is being asked for the sole purpose of confusion and to make the parents of soldiers believe that we are embarked on some kind of a mysterious crusade to benefit somebody besides ourselves.

If that thought can be planted, then morale on the home front will decline and parents will be influenced only by the thought of ending the war and getting their boys back.

In fact, some Republican politicians in Indiana have started an undercover campaign to alarm parents and make them

think their sons were needlessly drafted for "Roosevelt's war."

Such a campaign is nothing but whispered sedition that will jeopardize the lives of the boys in whose alleged behalf it is circulated.

Such politicians care nothing for a few dead soldiers more or less, if they can round up the live votes of their parents. So they continue to agitate in the alleys to elect them and "bring the boys home."

If such a sentiment could be created, it would be a simple matter for Japan and Germany to negotiate a peace which would leave them stronger than when they started the war.

They could then start preparations to satisfy their national obsession of conquering the world. A third world war would be only a matter of time. We would have to maintain a huge army and navy as protection against the day that Germany and Japan would strike again.

Our boys would not come home after such a peace. They would become part of a permanent standing army constantly trained for instantaneous operations anywhere in the world.

Yet the discussion continues about abstract peace aims and the public mind is diverted from the fact that there will be no peace until we buy it with blood. Instead of preparing to win the war, we worry about losing the peace.

The same sources that raise questions about our aims and intentions also spread distrust of our allies. Members of the United States senate looked at the war through a telescope and then told us that in the smoke of battle they saw two sinister figures, ready to pounce upon us.



Were they our enemies — Japan and Germany?

No indeed! They were our allies—England and Russia.

Immediately the chant was taken up by the isolationist press, the America First Committee and other seditious elements that we are being gypped by our allies.

Thus our hatred of our enemies is softened by suspicion of our friends. We may reach the conclusion that every other nation is evil and cannot be trusted, which is exactly what the isolationists want us to think.

If we think that, we become isolationists. And if we become isolationists, we are ready to scuttle our allies and get out of the war on the best terms we can make.

The suspicion that we will do that is being circulated in England and Russia, thereby making unity among the allies more difficult. We suspect them and they suspect us — the same old stuff that almost won the world for Hitler without a struggle.

That is all that can save him from ultimate and complete defeat. How encouraged he must have been when our senators came home criticizing England and the English press retaliated with sharp criticism of us!

It is significant that those Americans

who profess to fear Russia most, are also the most venomous in their distrust of England.

The future of the world rests not only on victory in the present war but on the relations between the allies when it ends.

If England, Russia and the United States cannot stand together in victory, then victory will be short-lived.

If we can't get along with our allies, what chance will we ever have to get along with the rest of the world?

What we are fighting for is the simple, instinctive determination to live. Our allies are fighting for the same thing.

We will come out of the war with an army that rivals Russia's and a navy that surpasses England's.

If we refuse to cooperate with them, we will drive them together into an alliance of mutual protection against us. We will face the world alone, without allies.

We will be isolated.

They will be arming against us and we will be arming against them. Nobody will be strong enough to enforce peace. And when the day of that next conflict dawns with another bloody sunrise we can honestly ask the dishonest question we hear today — what are we fighting for?

## Another Teamster Dies in Jap Prison Camp

Another Teamster prisoner of war has succumbed to the brutality of the Jap prison camps. He is Harold M. Hansen of Local No. 43, Racine, Wisconsin.

He was a driver for the Yellow Cab Company and enlisted in the Marines on July, 1940, when he saw the war clouds threatening this country. Exactly three years later he was dead, a victim of the war he foresaw, according to the report of Acting Secretary Charles Terracina of Local No. 43.

Hansen died at about the same time as George F. Connelly, a member of Local No. 485 of Pittsburgh. His death was reported in the July issue of this magazine. Connelly was in the army. Both Hansen and Connelly were in the heroic but hopeless battle of Bataan and were captured when it fell.

They survived the dangers of combat but could not survive the treatment of the Japs' prison camps.

Soft-hearted Americans are now releasing Japs from U. S. concentration camps to take the jobs that Hansen and Connelly gave up when they marched away to their death.



## *Tobin Answers Legion Commander* Reminds Him that Congress Encourages Strikes

*This was President Tobin's reply to Commander Warren H. Atherton of the American Legion at the national AFL convention in Boston last month. Tobin's reply goes down to the basic problems involved.*

**M**R. CHAIRMAN and delegates, you heard a good deal this morning about labor and strikes and work for the government in the address of the commander of the American Legion, who made reference to strikes by labor unions in violation of our pledge to our government.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has had perhaps more unjust publicity in matters of this kind than any other organization in recent months.

The most thoroughly organized lobby that has existed in Washington in all the years during which I have been acquainted with the methods of procedure down there has been operating since the beginning of the war, in the capital of the nation.

With unlimited money from insurance companies and gentlemen farmers they have been successful not only in spreading all kinds of unfair and unjust propaganda against the toilers of the nation, but they have been somewhat successful — I might say substantially successful in convincing our legislators as to the evils of labor men.

In spite of all this, labor has patiently gone on doing its job and endeavoring to keep its pledges to the government. But there is almost a limit to endurance.

If the International Brotherhood of Teamsters have 35 men out on strike in New York, although there are 54,000 of our union members there, great capital is made of it.

The next day it is brought on the floor of congress and every newspaper in New York, with few exceptions, headlines the fact that the Teamsters have broken faith in their pledge to the government. That is true of many of your organizations.

This system of poisoning the minds of the American people against the trade union movement is now enjoying its greatest reward. They are in the heights of their greatest glory, and unfortunately many of the bureaus and tribunals of government are unthinkingly helping them.

As one of the associates of President Green, and being a member of the executive council, I helped in the creation of the War Labor Board.

It has done a great deal of good, but it is getting to the point where it is becoming almost antiquated and its functions are not what they were intended to be at the time of its creation.

The personnel of the board is all right, but for some reason or other they are swamped with cases that are piling up and they don't seem to understand the human side of the question.

Now, working men and women are human beings, and there is no rule, there is no law unless it is based on what they believe to be justice, that can work successfully.

I am going to read to you a telegram in answer to telegrams that I have received in the last three or four days. This is a telegram I sent to the chairman of the War Labor Board last night.

I think many of you down there on the floor have had similar experiences.

If the board would use a portion of the enormous amount of money they spend in telegrams, to send somebody out on the road to adjust some of these grievances they would get better results.

I get about 11 telegrams on almost every insignificant question, just as you do. I received a complaint from the board about



a strike in the southern states, and in the telegram I have endeavored to explain our position.

Boston, Mass.  
October 7, 1943.

Hon. William Davis, Chairman  
War Labor Board  
Washington, D. C.

Am endeavoring in every way possible to keep our people at work in accordance with our pledge to our government, but conditions are becoming more difficult daily.

Recently in Providence, R. I., I had printed on first pages of daily papers paid advertisements denouncing stoppages of work by over-the-road truck drivers.

This action of ours was responsible for the return of the men to work.

In New York milk drivers strike I gave statements to the press denouncing strike and advising men to return to work.

In Nashville, Tennessee, yesterday striking Teamsters were ordered back to work or their Union charter would be revoked by International Union.

Today we have received information that men loading and unloading trucks, members of another local of Teamsters in Tennessee, have stopped work and have advised me of the cause of their trouble and that local union officers cannot handle rank and file.

I now notify you and the War Labor Board that both myself and my associates find it impossible to convince our membership immediately in many places of the necessity of observing our no-strike pledge because of what they and I consider an unnecessary delay in endeavoring to make decisions in cases submitted by those unions to the War Labor Board.

In several instances there are cases pending, awaiting action and decision by the War Labor Board, as long as 10, 11, 12 and 13 months.

I am sure that the President of the United States never intended or expected, nor did any leader of labor expect, that any governmental tribunal would hold up a case for a period of 12 months, where men are suffering and have requested an adjustment of their conditions, wages and hours.

I earnestly suggest that the panel or commission handling labor in trucking transportation, be ordered to expedite immediately all cases submitted and waiting for adjustment longer than three months.

If any representative of this panel or sub-commission cannot give his entire time to

this work then he should be removed or substituted by another.

The war situation is becoming more intense.

The labor situation is becoming more difficult and the workers having just grievances that should be adjusted will not be easily controlled.

Personally, while I am willing to make any and every sacrifice humanly possible, I believe the workers in many instances have just reason for resentment against the awful unnecessary delays of the War Labor Board and its constituted representatives.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,  
General President,  
Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters.

I sent that telegram for the purpose of trying to explain some of the things that we, the men of labor, have to put up with. I was very much impressed, as were all of you, with the statement made by President Green in his answer to the commander of the American Legion just before we adjourned at noon.

President Green has some knowledge of what is going on, but we seem to be getting into a condition down in Washington where they are really lacking a full understanding of the problems of you men down there on the floor. Of course we are for our government and for our war effort; we have to win the war.

Whose war is it? It is our war. It is the war for the continued emancipation of the toilers.

It is not the war of a few millionaires. We, the toilers of this and other countries have millions involved. We must make sacrifices. We will be called upon to make more. The picture is not quite as rosy as we would like to have it, but we must not be obstructed by governmental bureaus.

Your no-strike pledge was given by the executive council of the federation, but the executive council had no more power than a child to put it into effect, were it not for you men representing your local unions and your international unions.

As a member of the executive council I know how faithfully you have tried to carry



out your pledges. But without the aid of the business agents and the international officers, our pledge to the government could not be carried out.

You have kept your pledge as we have, and you deserve and will, I am sure, as time goes on, and history is written, receive the gratitude of a great, freedom-loving citizenship of our country.

We were going along splendidly with our pledge until congress stepped in when we were telling men that they could not strike and put through legislation telling our people that they could strike.

I refer to the Smith-Connally bill. And believe it or not, I have had over 100 requests for permission to strike in accordance with the laws of the United States since the Smith-Connally bill became a law — requests that we would not have had and that we would have refused were it not for the tampering of congress with our machinery to carry out our no-strike pledge.

Now, men are working night and day. They are getting tired, they are getting nervous with the continued speed-up of machinery.

Go into any of these factories, those great big airplane plants and look into the faces of these people.

That continuous grind of doing the same thing every hour of the day, every day of the week, is gradually breaking down the nerves of the toilers of the nation, as it has done in England.

England has endeavored to take care of it, and still we have bureaus that instead of helping us, in many instances overlap each other, with jealousies prevailing, and when we are doing a fairly good job they put through legislation that has set us back for nearly a year from where we were.

Now the rule that applies in our union is that most of our local organizations sign contracts for a period of two years, and in some instances for a period of three years.

In one instance the contract of the union had expired. It had been signed and agreed

to two years before that, and that case is pending now before the War Labor Board for nearly 13 months.

That is one of the reasons those men went on strike. Of course we will order them back to work. That is about all we can do and that is not the answer always.

**We may threaten to take away their charter, and they will walk over to somebody else and get a charter, without any question. We can suffer that, too, for the sake of our government.**

But there is another thing; there is the shortage of labor. Men and women are becoming tired. We can't put men with rifles beside truck drivers to run those trucks, and we can't find other truck drivers to take their places. This is the human side of the question that those who operate those bureaus seem to fail to understand.

I know this government has the right and it is in duty bound to do anything within reason that is necessary to win this war. If they could freeze wages they would also have to freeze prices. They pursued a wiser course that has brought results.

And so that you may understand our position when you read in the papers of the Teamsters breaking their pledge to the government, I thought I would make this explanation, because I think that in a small way, perhaps in a larger way many of you have been confronted with similar conditions and will be crucified by the press of the nation, maybe by some governmental official, because you failed to do the impossible.

The men and women of our nation deserve credit. The national and local officers are the backbone of this war. We have an unnecessary turnover in labor because of the unjust conditions obtaining.

We are short of certain kinds of bombers because of certain unjust decisions made by certain boards.

The idea of giving men two cents an hour more in a decision by a government tribunal when the cost of living has gone up 45 per



cent in that particular district over a period of four months!

But we must go on; we must suffer being misunderstood; we must bear more. We are in for more difficult days as time goes on, all of which we are prepared to endure.

But we must have proper consideration, proper understanding of what we are doing. We must have our cases heard and decisions made, just decisions by our government, if the nation expects us to be able to continue to hold the men and women of labor at the wheels of industry until this conflict ends.

The greatest surprise I have had, a pleasant and joyous surprise, is the fact that we have had such magnificent success as we have had.

In England, a small nation compared to ours, with a population of 40,000,000 as compared to our population of 135,000,000, a nation with very strict laws, that has been in the war four years, there are more men

and women on strike than there were in our country.

I don't want to place the stamp of approval on any kind of a strike during this period of the war.

I don't want to be understood that way, but I do say that the international officers cannot continue indefinitely unless we get the help to which we are justly entitled from our government.

There is a great responsibility on the men and women of labor today. We have been impeded by certain decisions and certain bureaus — not by the head of the government itself — it is impossible for that man or any other man to handle all these different things.

But when they charge labor with being negligent in observing its pledge they are wrong. Labor has kept its pledge; you have kept your pledge; but they have not kept their pledge with labor.

## *Red Cross Praises Chicago Local*

**R**ECOGNITION of Bakery Drivers' Union No. 734 of Chicago as a pioneer in the blood donor service has been given by the American Red Cross. In a letter to International headquarters, Ralph A. Baier, director of the blood donor service, commended the union and spoke of the valuable service its officers and members have given in providing blood to save the lives of wounded soldiers, sailors and marines.

His letter follows:

"I am giving you the following information with a hope that it may be published in your national publication to stimulate blood donors in your organization throughout the country wherever American Red Cross Blood Donor Centers are located.

"Mr. William A. Lee, President of the Bakery Drivers' Union, Local No. 734, came to my office and worked out a plan of cooperation to solicit blood donors among the members of his organization for our

armed forces fully a year ago. This early participation you will note was fully eight months before the agreement entered into between labor and the American Red Cross for blood donors, at Washington, D. C. His foresight and recognition of responsibilities to the war effort are highly commendable.

"Mr. Lee is responsible for bringing into our Center over 1,000 blood donors and is using the honor roll system, thereby creating continued activity in this program. He recognizes that victories require greater quantities of plasma and this war cannot be won with a complacent attitude.

"I am more than pleased to call your attention to the grand contribution Mr. Lee has made to the war effort. With my best wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely,

RALPH A. BAIER,

Director, Blood Donor Service."



## *Brewers Say They Are Essential*

— WE SAY THEY ARE NOT!

**R**ECENTLY we received a telegram from Herbert J. Charles, president of the United States Brewers' Association, sent out from the Shoreham Building in Washington, D. C., asking us to help the brewing industry to hold their technical labor men in their employment, and in substance asking that they be given deferred, special consideration and be removed from the non-deferrable classification.

Of course we will not comply with this request; first, because there is no one in the brewing industry that is irreplaceable; second, because the United States Brewers' Association, of which Charles is the president, is doing nothing to comply with the decisions of the American Federation of Labor and is doing business with Joe Obergfell and his gang, who represent no legitimate trade union movement.

In other words, they are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and its over 6,000,000 members, or with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. We do not know whether or not they are attempting to get into District No. 50 of the United Mine Workers of America.

Charles is a corporation lawyer. He is president of the Hamm Brewing Company of St. Paul. The drivers delivering this beer in Minneapolis are members of our union but we do not need to thank Charles for this.

We do not know how he got to be president of this big brewery in St. Paul. We do know that he does not control a majority of the stock. Lawyers have many ways of getting to be dictators within corporations.

We also know that Charles sat in, representing his own brewery and the United States Brewers' Association, at our conferences in Miami, Florida, in January, 1942, and was a party to the agreement made between the International Brotherhood of

Teamsters and the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers. This agreement was signed by the majority of the members of the committee representing the Brewery Workers' Union in the presence of Mr. Obergfell.

We know that Charles guaranteed to do everything in his power to put the agreement into effect and congratulated the representatives of the Teamsters' Union on their efforts to bring peace in the brewing industry. We know further that Charles in no way helped to carry out the understanding reached in Miami under this agreement.

On the contrary we have some evidence that in St. Paul and elsewhere, through his influence and ownership, he demonstrated an unnecessary antagonism to our organization.

**We feel that the United States Brewers' Association will have more to worry about in a little while than asking that some of their so-called inside, irreplaceable men be deferred from fighting for the freedom of our nation and for the safety of the world.**

The brewing industry is not considered essential to the war effort. As a matter of fact, we could not deny if we wanted to do so, that many of the essentials used in the making of beer and ale are needed in other quarters, such as the feeding of cattle and hogs. We also feel that everybody has to make sacrifices and go without things, and one of the luxuries that men may be willing to refrain from using will be beer and ale, instead of cutting down on sugar, coffee, coal, and all kinds of canned goods.

The president of this International Union devoted his time and his efforts and some of the money of the International Union in endeavoring to eliminate prohibition. We succeeded earlier than we had anticipated.

The brewing industry can have laid at



their feet by the trade unionists of America many offenses that we believe would be difficult for them to explain.

For instance, every corner in every slum district has some kind of saloon or tavern that certain breweries have certain influences over. Those rat holes are a disgrace! In the old days the saloon was a rather respectable place.

Today the so-called tavern is a hotbed of anything but real Americanism. We realize full well that there are thousands of decent men in the saloon business, but the brewery owners are making no effort to clean up the rotten spots.

On the contrary, they go down on their knees begging for the purchase of their products by those same people.

There is a very strong movement now on in Washington to bring back prohibition. We do not favor it because it would bring more crime, but certainly the brewing industry and the Brewery Workers' Union, with whom the brewing industry is doing business, will not have much influence to stop that movement in Washington.

It is true we have some very high-class breweries doing business with our International Union and we are helping them all we can, but 80 per cent of the inside workers in all the breweries belong to this dual, rump outfit of brewery workers, who can expect no aid from the legitimate trade union movement.

While the United States Brewers' Association is doing business with this outfit they should not have the impertinence to ask the legitimate trade union movement of America for assistance in the dark hours that confront the industry in the future.

We say to the United States Brewers' Association: If you have any sense, if you want to save your industry, in which you have made millions and in which you have a lot of money invested, get the Brewery Workers' Union, run principally by Joe Obergfell, to come into the legitimate trade union movement of America and abide by the decisions of not only the courts of labor, but the courts of the land.

We might say in passing that there are 102,000 members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters wearing the uniform of our country in some one of its many branches in this great struggle, and we did not ask for exemption for any one of them.

We certainly do not believe there is anyone on the inside of a brewery who is fit for military service who should ask to be placed in a deferrable classification. We proved they were replaceable in the Northwest when the Brewery Workers pulled everyone out of the breweries and in two weeks we had their places filled with first-class men. This last statement is based on the testimony of the brewery owners of that district.

## Meet Our Foreign Correspondent, Corporal Donohoe

CORP. E. J. DONOHOE, former editor of *The Washington Teamster*, informs us that he will have a hot story for THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER when he goes into action with the 321st Infantry.

He is now undergoing the most rigorous training to which American troops are subjected in final preparation for their zero hour overseas.

He is in the Desert Training Center in

California after preliminary training in Alabama.

"I got the October issue of the magazine and it is swell as ever," he wrote. "I'll send you a story first-hand when I get 'over there.'"

"I read *Under Cover*. You can't plug it too hard. And keep nailing those dissension stories such as fighting the Japs first, and splits in the high command."

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During the last war the mail-order price for a pair of overalls rose from 82 cents to \$2.95 and at one time a 10-pound bag of sugar cost \$2.67—*Journeyman Barber*,



## C.I.O. Unions Promote Race Hatred

BY EDWARD D. VANDELEUR

*Late Secretary, California State Federation of Labor*

(Written shortly before his death on October 5)

**T**HE California State Federation of Labor is not presumptuous enough to say that it has a solution for the race problem.

But the federation does wish to point out with all of the force possible that there are certain things that can be done and other things that must not be done in order to eliminate any possibility of race riots.

Even though it may not be known to a lot of amateur sociologists, the trade unions have been working on this problem for many years.

In most of them understanding has been established. It is a problem that cannot and will not be solved over night.

With less interference from "well-meaning" people, however, and with the trade unions being given a free hand, better results will be obtained.

One of the principal contributing factors in injecting bitterness and pitting one race against the other has been the nearly unbelievable and impermissible tactics of CIO unions in their jurisdictional raiding to exploit racial feelings.

By trying to make the AFL unions appear as KKK's in the eyes of the Negroes, these CIO unions are concerned only with their own selfish interests and betray their lack of sincerity in claiming to support unity on the home front.

If a CIO union can get votes in no better way than by playing up to the Negro workers in the industry and putting the fight on

a racial instead of on an economic basis, then they are guilty of the same thing of which they are accusing fifth columnists — promoting race riots.

There have been a number of jurisdictional fights where this issue has been injected, and this is true right now in the State of Nevada.

Another important "don't" in the whole question is to try to get unions to express themselves on the status of the races on a social basis. That is not the function of a trade union.

A trade union is concerned with the jobs it has control over, and functions in behalf of its dues-paying membership in giving them work and protecting their interests.

Tremendous progress has been made in this direction and continued work is being done by the federation to eliminate any discrimination on the job.

In fact, right now, the federation has a full-time Negro organizer on its payroll who is doing a splendid job in promoting better understanding and in placing Negroes on more jobs. This work will be continued.

For some well-meaning person to demand that the unions take a stand on racial equality shows complete ignorance of unionism.

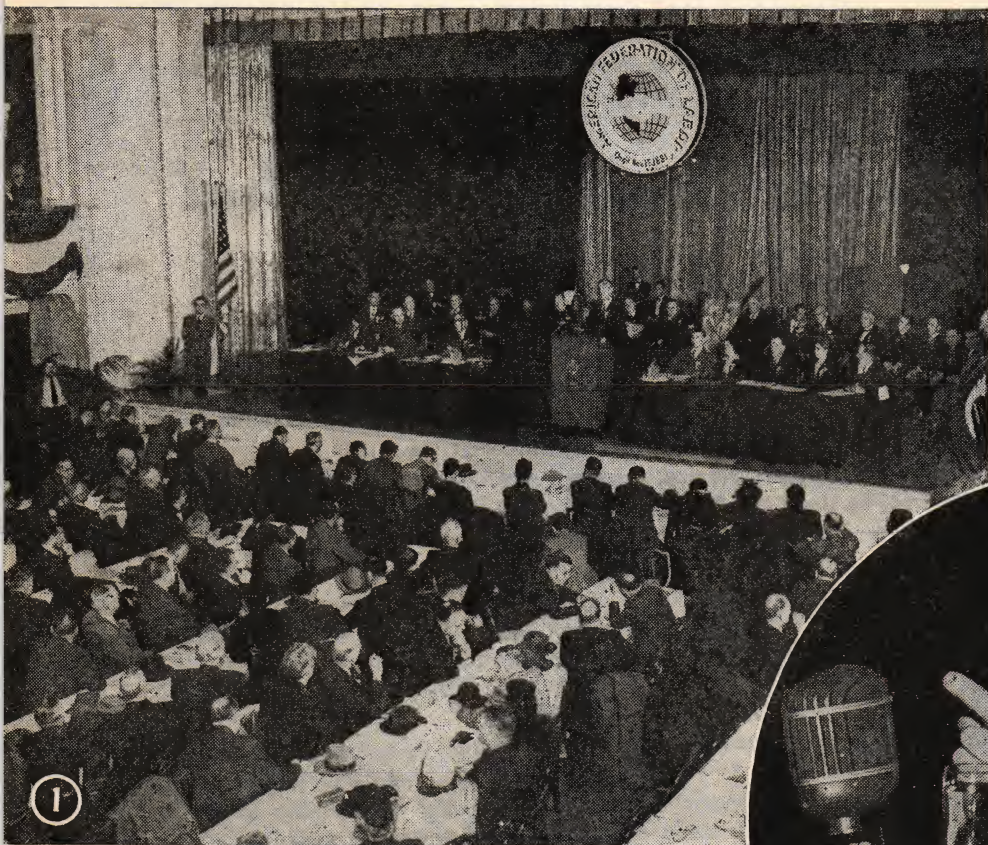
That is completely out of the province of unionism, and when such issues are injected into the picture all that happens is the stirring up of more trouble and bitterness.

## Teamsters Ask for "Under Cover"--Try Your Local Book Store

Many Teamsters have written asking us where they can buy the startling new book, *Under Cover*, which we reviewed last month. You can probably get it from your local book stores, although some have been frightened out of selling it by the Associated

Farmers, the America First Committee or some of their seditious confederates exposed in the book. The publisher is E. P. Dutton & Company of New York and the price is \$3.50. It has more kick than anything else you can buy for the same price.





*With*





# *the* A.F. of L. *in* BOSTON

These scenes depict important personalities and events at the Boston AFL convention where Teamsters played a leading role.

No. 1—The convention hall in the Statler Hotel during the opening session with Gov. Saltonstall of Massachusetts welcoming the delegates.

No. 2—Some of the Teamster representatives seated on convention floor, left to right, Thomas J. Farrell of Cincinnati, George Mitchell of the Chicago Joint Council, President A. W. Galipeau of the Idaho State Federation of Labor, Jeff Johnson of Chicago, John O'Rourke of New York and John English of Boston.

No. 3—President Tobin urging the passage of the committee report paving the way for return of the Miners.

No. 4—President William Green addressing a banquet given by the Boston Joint Council. Left to right are International Secretary-Treasurer John M. Gillespie of Indianapolis, President Tobin, President Green, C. G. Fitzpatrick of Worcester, Mass., chairman of the banquet, and Charles A. Burns of Boston, president of the New England Conference of Teamsters.

No. 5—President Tobin challenging the conclusions of National Commander Warren H. Atherton of the American Legion on strikes.

No. 6—Additional Teamster representatives on the convention floor, left to right, Robert Lester of Washington, D. C., Dick Seltzer of Long Beach, Calif., William A. Lee of Chicago, Frank Brewster of Seattle, John M. Gillespie of Indianapolis, Dave Beck of Seattle and Tobin.







Session of the important committee on laws presided over by Tobin. The committee failed to urge the amendment of the constitution so that the AFL could check the membership records of its affiliates.

John J. Del Monte, chairman of the Boston convention committee, as he formally opened the session. Del Monte is president of Boston Central Labor Union and business agent of Teamsters' Union No. 379. Behind him is President Green,



Men prominent in arranging the entertainment provided by the New England Conference of Teamsters. Left to right, William A. Nealey of Lynn, Mass., International Organizer John English of Boston, General Organizer P. Harry Jennings of New England, Nate Hurwitz and C. G. Fitzpatrick of Boston.



Prominent New England Teamsters at the convention, left to right, Augustine F. Walsh, Boston business agent; Charles Armstrong, president of Joint Council No. 10; Frank J. McMorrow, Boston business agent; John J. Del Monte, chairman of the Boston convention committee, and Anthony Morris, business agent of Cranston, Rhode Island.



Claude P. O'Reilly, prominent Seattle Teamster and president of the Seattle Central Labor Council, applauds the remarks of President Tobin.

Committee which arranged a Boston Teamster mass meeting for Presidents Green and Tobin. Left to right, Leonard A. Ryan of Worcester, Mass., Augustine F. Walsh, John J. Del Monte and Charles Armstrong, president of Joint Council No. 10.





# Anaconda Company Blamed Labor

## Senator Bone Concludes Exposure of Corrupt Firm

IN this issue THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER concludes the sensational exposure made by Senator Homer T. Bone of Washington state on the criminal conspiracy of the Anaconda Wire & Cable Co. to defraud the government and endanger the lives of its soldiers and sailors.

We printed in full the remarks of Senator Bone because they were not available to our membership from any other source.

This is information our membership should have in dealing with corporations of this type. It shows the kind of "free enterprise" they want. They criticize the government for putting too many restrictions on them and not enough on labor.

In fact, the corrupt and cowardly Anaconda company tried to put the blame on organized labor when it was caught cheating the government by selling counterfeit wire to the armed services.

The facts we have printed put the blame right where it belongs, on the shoulders of a swindler not content with the 20 millions of dollars paid it by the government for war contracts.

After reciting the crime of Anaconda — a crime that was almost treason — Senator Bone reviewed the cases of 18 working men charged with sabotage of war plants.

After the indictment was returned, a search was made for various types of wire and cable that could be identified as having been made at the Marion (Ind.) plant. Around 700 reels of Anaconda wire was located in the warehouse of the United States Marine Corps at San Diego, Calif., which was ready for shipment to combat areas in the Pacific.

It was established that 56 reels of this wire were made at the Marion plant. This wire was tested and was found to be utterly defective.

None of them was engaged in a conspiracy of the Anaconda kind. Yet the average prison sentence given these men was more than 2½ years.

One of them convicted of damaging the cable of airplanes under construction received a prison sentence of 15 years. Yet the Anaconda company, which sold millions of dollars' worth of counterfeit wire and cable that might have cost thousands of men their lives, escaped with a fine.

Not one of the five guilty officials of the company went to prison either. One of them got off with a fine of only \$100. The judge might as well have sent him a valentine.

The judge responsible for this colossal miscarriage of justice has since resigned. He said he was sick. So was everybody who read his decision.

Senator Bone has announced that in any future frauds of similar nature he will see that the whole filthy story is spread on the pages of the *Congressional Record* for the world to see.

And if nobody else prints it, THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER will again see that it receives general circulation.

Here is the conclusion of the senator's remarks:

We were in possession of certified copies of two complaints from the Moscow office of Lend-Lease, pointing out numerous specific defects in the Anaconda wire, which was made under a particular contract with the United States Signal Corps, which contract was in the process of fulfillment at the Marion plant.

However, the Anaconda Co. sometimes split up its contracts and would manufacture part of a contract at one plant and another part of the same contract at another plant.



After the indictment was returned, the United States Signal Corps ordered that all Anaconda wire be kept within the continental United States and be used only on maneuvers and not in any combat area.

We are in possession of a great many pieces of wire that were cut out of the reels of wire that were on hand ready for shipment at the time of the discovery of the practices. These pieces of wire show numerous holes and breaks in the insulation.

It was the statement of numerous employees having particular jobs to do in the production that they did not know how really "lousy" the wire was that the plant was making until they came to test some of it.

In other words, an employee working at the saturating finishing machine would not actually know of the condition of each reel of wire that went out for the reason the tag changing, use of the button boxes, and substitution of samples would all be done by particular employees who had specific assignments without regard to the duty and assignments of other employees.

There were three eight-hour shifts working in the plant since the early part of 1941. The number of employees has doubled in the last two years and it was impossible for each employee to know the condition of the finished product.

On one occasion the inspector for the signal corps had an argument with several employees in the physical test laboratory as to the method of conducting their tests. Employees testified that this particular inspector, K. K. Miller, was becoming suspicious of their testing procedure.

Don R. Carpenter, the plant's superintendent, and Frank Kunkle, the assistant chief inspector for the plant, testified that they told Frank Hart, the plant manager, that K. K. Miller was becoming suspicious.

Thereupon, the defendant, Frank Hart, went to the signal corps inspection offices and told the superiors of Miller that Miller was disrupting production in the plant and

causing antagonism among his employees by bickering and arguing with them.

Thereafter, Inspector Miller was transferred to another plant upon the statement of Frank Hart, the plant manager, though the true reason for the representations of Hart was that Miller might catch up with their fraudulent practices.

The Anaconda plant, as other war-production plants, employed guards and maintained a guard system requiring identification upon admission to the plant at all times. In the event a plant is making any secret production or is making products over which particular government inspectors have no authority or control, the plant may exclude inspectors in the particular areas.

However, as a part of the fraudulent practices and program, it was apparent that government inspectors must be excluded from the plant on night shifts and at odd hours in order to prevent a detection of the tag-changing procedure and the pretesting to obtain selected reels for use in the electrical tests.

Therefore the plant superintendent, Carpenter, and assistant chief inspector, Kunkle, went to the plant manager, Frank Hart, and so informed Hart that the government inspectors would detect their test procedure if allowed to wander about the plant during nights and odd hours.

Then Frank Hart issued an order to the guards requiring that no government inspector be permitted in the plant at night or Saturday afternoon and Sunday unless accompanied by an escort who would be an official or designated employee of the company.

The captain of the guards was instructed that he must call Kunkle in the event the government inspector desired admittance.

Further, if a government inspector desired admittance to the plant on Sunday, it was necessary that he give 24 hours' notice before being allowed to go in the plant. This



procedure was respected and followed by the government inspectors at all times during the last nine months of 1941 and until detection of the practices in August, 1942.

On June 10, 1943, the Anaconda Wire & Cable Co., the corporation; Thor S. Johnson, general manager of all mills of Anaconda Wire & Cable Co.; Frank E. Hart, the manager of the Marion (Ind.) plant; Don R. Carpenter, the plant superintendent of the Marion plant; Chalmer C. Bishop, chief inspector of the Marion plant; and Frank Kunkle, assistant chief inspector of the Marion plant, all of the defendants named in the indictment, entered pleas of *nolo contendere* in the United States district court at Fort Wayne, Ind., before Judge Thomas W. Slick. The court was informed substantially as related above of the practices and fraud against the government.

**The judge finally disposed of this case by being rude enough to impose upon the company a small fine, and he then knew of all the facts, as I have related them to the senate.**

The Anaconda Wire & Cable Co., a corporation, stated that it was technically guilty but not morally guilty.

At this point I digress to say that I should like to have some good lawyer in this body explain to me what that means. I practiced law a long time, and I am not sure what is meant by that kind of an expression.

I should like to have some able lawyer — there are many of them in this body — tell me what distinction he would make between the two classes of guilt in a case of this kind, in which a company deliberately manufactured wire of an inferior grade for use on a battlefield. The company stated that

it was technically guilty but not morally guilty. That plea will take rank as a gem in legal literature.

Thor S. Johnson denied complete knowledge of the practices and urged that there was a great desire to get out production. Frank E. Hart denied complete knowledge of the practices and more or less sought to lay the blame on the defendants Carpenter, Bishop, and Kunkle.

The defendants, Carpenter, Bishop and Kunkle, alleged good citizenship and good family line, but stated that the government's charges were substantially correct.

Judge Thomas W. Slick, at the conclusion of the statements of the parties talked from the bench, approximately one hour during which time he asked the government for its recommendations as to the penalties in the case, and the government recommended maximum fines and imprisonment.

The honorable judge who presided over this court at Fort Wayne took the view that sending these defendants to jail would not be much of a deterrent to others who might be tempted to do likewise.

If all courts adopted this theory of administering the law, it would bring undiluted joy to the hearts of prospective criminals who could escape imprisonment by the mere process of paying a small fine.

It will come as rather a rude shock to prosecuting officials all over the country to learn that any form of imprisonment is not a deterrent to crime.

It is to be hoped that the federal judicial district, known as the northern district of Indiana, Fort Wayne division, will not hereafter become a haven for the criminally disposed, although the temptation to migrate to that sanctuary will certainly be very great.

## Pittsburgh Local Buys \$50,000 Worth of War Bonds

Secretary Leo B. Stehle of Local No. 249 of Pittsburgh reports that his local bought \$50,000 worth of war bonds to "help our country in its present emergency." The extra purchase brought to \$252,500 the

bonds held by the local. The bond purchases have the hearty support of the members of the union who are also buying bonds in liberal amounts with their private funds.



## *Unions Won't Open Books to A. F. L.*

### **Teamsters Lose Fight to Verify Membership**

**D**ELEGATES of the Teamsters' Union were unsuccessful in convincing the Boston AFL convention to approve an amendment to the AFL constitution which would permit the president or secretary-treasurer of the federation to check the books of affiliated international unions to determine whether they were paying a per capita tax on their actual membership.

The resolution proposing this amendment was referred to the executive council with

instructions to report back to the 1944 convention.

As explained by President Tobin, the amendment would prevent any group of unions from padding their membership reports in order to control the AFL conventions.

Speaking on the report of the committee on laws, referring the question to the executive council, Tobin made the following remarks:

The Teamsters' delegation will not vote against the report of the committee. As a matter of courtesy we shall vote for the report of the committee, but we are not satisfied with the report and we are going to insist that the executive council give this matter serious consideration during the coming year and if they don't we will bring this matter back to the convention again.

I never thought there was anybody in this federation that would object to the president of the federation or the secretary-treasurer of the federation looking at the last line in their ledger to determine whether or not they were overpaying or underpaying their tax.

That is all it means. It specifically states in the amended resolution that this does not empower the officers of the federation to go into all the financial matters of international unions.

It is only for the purpose of determining whether or not the tax was paid to the federation in accordance with the laws of the federation.

Now what's the use of you making laws unless you know whether they are carried out or not? I fully understand the rights of international unions, and I will guard the autonomous rights of international unions.

But this federation of labor has some rights and the membership has some rights,

and the public must be considered at this particular time.

Under the present system four or five organizations now in this federation can get together and control this convention.

Instead of paying on 625,000 members I can pay on a million members. The Teamsters, the Carpenters, the Machinists, the Boilermakers — four or five organizations can pay sufficient per capita tax under your present system to control this federation.

Of course I don't think that it will be done, because these men are honorable. These men here in this federation have some sense of justice.

I didn't think when we introduced this resolution we would have anything but the approval of our convention immediately for the protection of this federation, not only now but for the future. I am looking to the future.

There are a number of organizations outside of this federation. They can send in their check upon affiliation. We have no right to determine their membership.

They will tell you "You don't determine your membership within your own federation, and what right have you to question the Steel Workers or the Mine Workers or the Automobile Workers as to their membership?"

Under this amendment to the constitution, if it is adopted, all that the president



or the secretary can do is to look up your actual membership if they desire to do so. In my judgment it would not happen but once a year, maybe not at all. But that protection should be there for the future of this federation.

It is unjust to the small unions to say to them that organizations with large treasuries, inside or outside the federation, can come in here and say, "Here is our tax on a million members, take it." Then after the action of the convention four or five unions that could not get control can withdraw, if they don't like the way things are going on. That is what I have in mind.

I am disappointed at the hard, sound thinking heads of organizations who flocked around our committee during the meetings and who seem to be afraid we were going to do something to injure their autonomous rights.

We have also some information that there are organizations already affiliated that are not paying on their full membership. We haven't any direct proof, because we cannot go into their books and say to them "You have more members than you are paying on."

That is the whole purpose of this amendment. When the law establishing the per capita tax was drafted and amended it was distinctly understood that on each member who pays dues each month to his national union, a tax amounting to one and a half cents would be paid, and if at the end of six or eight months there were a few over or under it could be balanced.

But as the condition is now prevailing, any national secretary-treasurer sends in his check on so many members and it ends right there.

There is a time coming in this federation, perhaps — I hope it won't come — when organizations, in order to increase their importance in the public eye, will pay on a membership that does not exist, and others,

to save a few dollars, may not pay on their actual membership.

Then there is a greater danger that those who would attempt to destroy the federation may continue in that attempt by paying on sufficient members to get control of the federation, some of those who are not now affiliated.

But, getting back to the intent and purpose of this amendment, it is to give the executive council, or the president or the secretary-treasurer the right to look at the actual membership of any national or international union if they desire to do so.

I have been told by organizations that are outside this federation that they had one organization that had a million members. Well, I doubt that very seriously. I hope they have, but I doubt it.

But if they come in here we have the right to know what their membership is, and in order to establish that principle we first ought to apply it to ourselves, and it does not apply now, because I have never known the secretary or the president of the federation to question the membership of any affiliated international union.

I do not want to be placed in this position in the eyes of the nation, that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is afraid to have anybody see their actual membership. I invite the president of the federation to verify our membership.

It does not mean that they will have anything to do with the financial conditions obtaining within the International Union, but it does mean that they do have the right to verify our membership.

I hope and trust that when you go back home, during the year you will understand the purpose of this amendment to the constitution. It is not for the Teamsters. We have no special interest in it. It is for the preservation and the continuance on a sound basis, a fearless basis, of this federation.

**We wonder what the so-called "farm bloc," which has introduced crack down legislation against labor unions, would say if city wage earners would decide to buy margarine in preference to butter.—The Duluth Labor World.**



# Wisconsin Outlaws "Independents"

BY JOHN S. PICAGO  
*International Representative*

THERE is no better time than the present to correct a bad situation which exists quite generally in the trucking industry in various sections of the United States in the use of the so-called "independent contractor."

The independent contractor relationship is found in a number of forms. In some communities cartage companies have sold a tractor and trailer to an employee for an agreed sum and have simultaneously entered into an independent-contractor agreement whereby the purchaser of the equipment agrees to haul exclusively for the cartage company at an agreed rate of compensation.

A nominal sum is usually paid down on the equipment and the sale agreement calls for deductions from the gross receipts to pay for operation, maintenance and repair of equipment, wages of a helper, liability and collision insurance, license fees, payment on the purchase of the equipment and numerous other items.

The "independent" contractor draws as little from the gross earnings as is humanly possible to live on, his family often is at least partially maintained by the earnings of the wife or some other member of the family.

In most instances, the independent contractor draws no more than 50 per cent of the wages of the helper while putting in much longer hours than his helper. The bait is always held out to the operator that some day he will have paid-up equipment.

But usually the equipment is worn out before it is paid for and when the time comes to trade it in, the trade-in allowance is little if any more and sometimes even less than the amount still owing on the equipment.

In most communities this type of arrange-

ment has been shown up for what it is — and in Wisconsin the unions have accomplished the abolition of this type of independent contractor.

Cartage firms have been made to purchase the equipment from these independent contractors at a fair price and to give the operator a job in accordance with his seniority rights at a fair union wage as a simon-pure employee.

Another type of independent operator set-up which still persists and which is crying for correction is the one to be found more often in the rural communities. An employer operating a milk canning company, for instance, will enter into a number of contracts with individuals owning a piece of equipment for the hauling of milk from the farm to the factory at a certain rate of pay per hundred pounds.

Each hauler is required to carry accident insurance and to maintain and operate his truck and to haul milk to the company exclusively for a stipulated rate of compensation. His contract is terminable on short notice, he gets no social security benefit, no workmen's compensation protection, no unemployment compensation, and enjoys no seniority rights nor has he any protection on his job.

In most instances, the independent contractor puts in at least 40 hours per week hauling for the plant from which he receives his pay and in addition he either operates a farm or hauls gravel or has some other form of overtime employment.

These haulers are being unfair to themselves and their families as well as to the trucking industry. Their families are denied the protection of social security, workmen's compensation and unemployment benefits and the tenure of their jobs. The worker, too, is deprived of these benefits and also is



deprived of any leisure time. Conditions in the industry are undermined.

This type of operation constitutes an evil which should be corrected.

There is no better time than the present to do so. Management should be made to pay a living wage to these truck drivers for a fair work week. Provision should be made for the sale or rental of the truck to management. The management should furnish these individuals with workmen's compensation insurance protection, unemployment compensation and social security benefits, seniority rights and other aids and protection, which members of our unions are customarily receiving.

In most instances these operators are indispensable. Management cannot replace these men nor their equipment. By acting now, a fair arrangement for the establishment of an employer-employee relationship can be entered into.

In negotiating an agreement for these individuals, the union and management will not be hampered by the Little Steel Formula

because these men were not receiving a wage on January 1, 1941.

We in Wisconsin have pointed out to our contract haulers who are commonly referred to as independent contractors, the benefits to be obtained in establishing an employer-employee relationship.

We have pointed out to them that as matters now stand, management can on short notice terminate their contract and that if management chooses to do so they have no security rights nor can they avail themselves of the benefits of the National Labor Relations Act because they are not employees. Should management choose to replace the present contract-carrier after the war with younger men and newer equipment, the contract-carrier would be strictly up against it.

We can see the handwriting on the wall and are acting now to abolish the existing evil and to prevent a foreseeable future catastrophe. We hope that our sister locals will do likewise.

## Jap Girl Lectures to Churches on Jap "Culture"

**I**T'S HIGH TIME for organized labor to take a vigorous stand against persons who are starting propaganda aimed at getting Americans to look upon the Japanese with pity and kindliness.

These persons, many of them labor-hating industrialists, apparently have two purposes in mind: (1) To work towards a negotiated peace instead of the unconditional surrender of Japan, and (2) to bring a huge amount of cheap Oriental labor into the United States after the end of the war.

Efforts are being made to infiltrate the Japs who were living on the west coast at the start of the war into the middle west, and to use these Japs in the task of "softening up" Americans to the point that they will cry out for a negotiated peace when Japan is nearly knocked out of the war.

As an example of what is going on, a Japanese girl recently was employed by a large Indianapolis department store. Soon thereafter she started to give talks on "Japanese culture" before church organizations and other groups.

We must not overlook the fact that all Japs now living in the United States, particularly the good-intentioned ones, are as much a menace to the nation and to organized labor as are those sneaky Japs who are cutting short the lives of many of America's fighting men on the battlefronts.

Let's land a knockout punch on the jaws of those who want us to let Japan escape unconditional surrender, and who desire to cheat American workers by opening the nation's doors to cheap labor.

—*The Indiana Teamster.*

**Let's look at the farm picture. Production last year was 19 per cent better than in 1939. Prices received were 71 per cent better.—Minnesota Teamster.**



## *Tobin Urges Miners Compromise*

### AFL Executive Council Authorized to Make Terms

**T**HE exact status of the United Mine Workers controversy was defined by President Tobin at the 63d annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in Boston last month.

He defined it in advocating the passage of the most important motion to come before the convention. The motion empow-

ered the executive council of the AFL to readmit the Miners after receiving and disposing of jurisdictional complaints made by AFL unions. Tobin's talk for the resolution, which passed overwhelmingly following an unsuccessful effort to amend it, reviewed the history of the controversy and the reasons for the resolution. It follows:

I rise to oppose the amendment to the motion, and I now declare myself, for the Teamsters' delegation, as favoring the report of the committee. I happen to be one of the members of the committee of three appointed by the president of your federation to meet with the representatives of the United Mine Workers. We met in the Statler Hotel in Washington and we were in conference for several hours. You know the result as reported by the executive council.

There has been a good deal of newspaper talk about Tobin being an emissary of the national administration, and because of his connections with the administration, in which he holds no office and desires no office, those statements have been used to prejudice the minds of the masses, and those statements haven't done any good.

I want to declare here and now that I am proud of any association or helpfulness that I have given the administration. I have no regrets and I seek nothing for myself.

But, slightly paraphrasing the words of Emmett in his speech from the dock, "I am no emissary, for if this administration was to attempt to raid the labor movement, if it were to attempt to destroy it, I would meet it on the beach with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other, and I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and my last entrenchment would be my grave."

Next to my country which gave me freedom, more than you understand, this organization gave me my second freedom, and there is no political alliance that will take its place in my mind as to my duty to my fellow men.

I have struggled from the very beginning to bring about unity in the labor movement, not just for the passing grandeur of being considered in a small way as a leader, but because from my years of experience I know that unless we are unified there is nothing in store for us but destruction, and even if unity prevails — and it doesn't look at all encouraging, and I am not referring to the report of the committee — even if unity prevails we will have an awful time trying to protect some of the freedom that we have obtained in recent years.

But if unity does not prevail and dissension continues and rival factions continue to get more bitter and unjust towards each other, I see no hope for preserving the freedoms that we have won.

After the last war many of you remember what happened. I happened to be a member of the executive council then—the treasurer of the Federation of Labor — and our membership at its highest point, when everybody was supposed to be in the union, was about 5,000,000. I have seen that membership go down to less than 2,000,000 a few years after the war.

There was a convention of this federa-



tion, which has not been referred to, held in this city. I was working around Boston then, in 1903, 40 years ago. The membership of the federation at that convention was about 750,000. Its membership today is over 6,000,000. There are four or five millions, we have no exact figures, of organized workers outside of the federation membership.

If those two great organizations — which include the miners and some of the railroad brotherhoods that have never been affiliated with either body — were to merge into one body there would be no serious danger to the labor movement. But there is danger because I see very little hope of a merger or an understanding being reached with the representatives of the CIO.

No matter how much you love peace and unity and try to convince those who honestly disagree with you as to your way of thinking, there are certain conditions that you cannot surrender.

When we met with the representatives of the United Mine Workers we were quite hopeful that we could reach an understanding, and our executive council, whom we were representing, was also quite hopeful, but we were sadly disappointed, thoroughly disappointed, and somewhat discouraged because we were advised by the speakers for the Mine Workers that there was only one condition upon which they would come into the federation and that was that we should accept them in their entirety as they were composed — not when they left the federation but as they were then, as of that date.

We didn't know their membership; we didn't know what composed some of their districts and there were many other things that we did not know and we were not given any information.

Now, I am not saying this in the spirit of bitterness. Men are entitled to their own opinions. Men surely know their own pur-

poses and what is best for their organization but it was our job to try to bring about first a reconciliation, but that reconciliation should be brought about without destroying the very foundation of this federation.

We were assured by the president of the United Mine Workers that after they entered into the federation, conferences would be arranged with the many organizations having disputes with them on jurisdiction and that an honest attempt would be made to adjust those disagreements.

I have no right to doubt the sincerity of the individual but I have the right, and I am bound to listen to the pleadings of those who have jurisdictional questions involved, and when we reported back the executive council gave our report consideration and unanimously accepted our report before it was referred to this convention.

Now if this convention instructed the executive council to go out and accept the Mine Workers on their proposition, I would be bound by the action of this convention. I would endeavor to carry it out, but, by the adoption of this report you are not doing that.

You are referring it back to the executive council, understand — with instructions to call conferences of organization representatives having grievances, for the purpose of endeavoring to reach understandings with the United Mine Workers.

But you are going further than that — and again I agree with the report of the committee. You are giving to the executive council the power to make a settlement, whether or not any agreements are reached between the disputing parties, if I interpret correctly the reading of the report.

I think myself that you have to give the council some power. I am satisfied that the membership of the council will deal as justly as possible and as considerately as possible in guarding the jurisdictional rights of the organizations affiliated with this federation. Unless you act on this



report favorably, the council will have no more power than it had before we came into this convention.

I, for one, perhaps misunderstood, and many of my associates may have misunderstood. We thought the responsibility of accepting the United Mine Workers on their terms without qualifications was too great a responsibility to assume, and therefore the matter was referred to this body. Now if you adopt this report you will give vision to the council as to its powers, as to how it shall proceed to act.

There are laws in this federation which were referred to this morning by the representative of the Progressive Mine Workers, and there isn't any doubt in my mind that if I were in his place I would make the same claim to the same rights.

**The constitution of the federation clearly sets forth that no charter shall be issued that interferes with the jurisdictional rights of any other organization already chartered, without the approval of so and so—there are some slight qualifications.**

But there is no law in this federation greater than the law of common sense and unity, and whatever is done, if anything is done—and I am quite hopeful that it will be during the coming year—will be subject to approval by the next convention. However, this does not prevent the executive council from reaching an agreement with the Mine Workers and granting them reaffiliation.

I know the history of the Progressive Miners. That organization was established before the withdrawal of the United Mine Workers of America from this federation. It had been functioning in Illinois and adjoining states before the founding of the CIO.

They had a fight or misunderstanding within their own organization and there was an independent union formed, and if it had not been for the withdrawal of the

Mine Workers which was regrettable, there would be no CIO.

I know that and every other national officer knows that, and we get nowhere by digging up what happened in the past. What we are looking to now is the future.

But if the United Mine Workers had not withdrawn, the Progressive Mine Workers would not have been chartered or been a part of the American Federation of Labor.

You may argue that this has nothing to do with the constitution. There have been instances in this federation, many of them, in which an international union was chartered and in which that organization was ordered to do certain things, in the face of the fact that it had charter rights.

For instance, I remember the days of the railroad car men, where two organizations, one large and one small, existed, and the smaller organization was ordered to do something. They desired to do otherwise and a charter was issued to the Railway Car Men, which was the large organization outside and which has progressed for the past several years.

In the case of the Plumbers and Steamfitters there was a wrangle for years, and you know what was done. But the oldest case I remember in this federation was that of the Woodworkers and Carpenters. The Woodworkers had a very fine, high-class, responsible organization some 40 years ago, and one of their members was a member of the executive council.

I believe it was in the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1903 that the president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was elected a vice-president of this federation. The Woodworkers were ordered to surrender their charter and to merge with the Brotherhood of Carpenters in the interests of the woodworking trades, and it was carried out.

This convention or the next convention has the right to say, in the interest of the labor movement, "We believe that a charter should be issued or that an organization



outside should be reinstated, even in the face of the fact that there is an organization that holds a charter today covering a certain jurisdiction within the federation."

I repeat that if in the judgment of the executive council they deem it best they can reissue the charter to the United Mine Workers covering men engaged in the mining of coal, even though there is a charter with the same jurisdiction existing today.

I say that because I know something of the history and the origin of both of these organizations, the United Mine Workers of America and the Progressive Mine Workers. Our membership is working in between those two organizations over in Illinois and we have tried to be friendly with both of them as much as we can, and we are having a devil of a time.

I would like to see one organization of Mine Workers, and I think the only way to bring it about is by some understanding reached during the year as to how we can, considering the best interests of all involved, take back into the fold the United Mine Workers of America.

Now the Mine Workers' membership does not, or should not, count when principle is involved. But, after all, there are 600,000 Mine Workers who make the policies for those who are not in their organization—twenty-five or thirty thousand in the Progressive Miners.

Don't misinterpret my statements. The small organization has as much right to the protection of this federation as our large organizations. But when the representatives of the Progressive Mine Workers appeared before the executive council, I myself, understanding something of their problems in Illinois, asked them one question, in which I said:

"Would it be possible, if the United Mine Workers returned to this federation and in conference they agreed to allow your organization to continue as it is, do you think you could reach some basis of understanding along those lines?"

I don't want to misrepresent anybody.

There were no notes taken of the conversation across the table, but if my memory serves me right I think the representatives of the Progressive Miners said they thought that it would be possible. They are not held by that statement.

But if the Progressive Mine Workers of America, who have fought along the principles of protecting their membership and who withdrew from the United Mine Workers before the split in the federation, have the best interest of their membership at heart—and I believe they have—they will find some common ground on which to unite the Mine Workers of Illinois and vicinity in the near future.

Having all this in mind I also have in mind the fact that we cannot have two organizations within the federation holding or claiming jurisdiction over the same class of workers.

The membership here on this floor has held this federation together in the days of darkness and doubt and cloudiness when it looked for a while as though the very foundation of this federation was in danger by the movement to destroy it.

I fully understand all that. My first consideration—if I am on the committee, will be given to those principles—but if it comes to a point where it means compromising without sacrificing principles will bring about a closer understanding, I, for one—and I know my associates—am willing to slightly compromise to the end that we may establish greater unity than we have at present.

I want to say to you, gentlemen, that the passage of the Smith-Connally Act was brought about as a result of the division of labor and that is not charging the miners with the entire responsibility for it.

Attorney Padway had prepared an amendment that would have destroyed 97 per cent of the effectiveness of the Smith-Connally Act. We had hoped that that amendment would be adopted by the House and we had some kind of understanding that it might be agreed to by the CIO representatives,



but at the last minute the CIO refused to go along and the amendment was not introduced.

These are things you ought to know. Now I am not condemning those men; they have the right to their opinions. I say that it is, in my judgment, a crime to have the present division in labor and I repeat to you, as I have in the columns of our journal, that I believe to a great extent the leadership of some organizations of labor is responsible for the continuation of this division.

I happened to be appointed by President Green to a committee to meet with the CIO and John Lewis — whom I have known perhaps longer than Bill Green has known him. I knew him over in Illinois when he was a delegate to the Mine Workers conventions which were held in Indianapolis year after year.

He was then the president of the CIO. Phil Murray was a member of the committee and Sidney Hillman was a member of that committee also. There were three of us. We could have had the CIO in our federation if we had accepted the same proposition from them then as was handed to us by the president of the United Mine Workers. That is — “take us all as we are — that is all we have to offer.”

When we reported back to the council they refused to do that. They did not think that that would have been justice to the organizations within the federation.

Then the president of the CIO was replaced by another man — Philip Murray. Again we met them with their committee and we thought that perhaps there was some hope.

Conditions in the country were not looking at all encouraging. Political leaders were evading us and just disregarding our representatives on the hill. They were strutting around up there with their feathers — those fellows many of whom you helped to elect. Why?

Because when the federation advocated something, very often the CIO's disagreed

with it, and vice versa, and all the time the millions of workers were suffering and their freedom was in danger. So, when we met the new president of the CIO, we were handed the same thing — “take us all as is, good, bad and indifferent. Never mind your jurisdictional questions.”

We could not get any verification of their membership. We could not get any jurisdictional lines drawn. We knew they had charters issued for textile workers and for wood workers and for 30 to 40 other organizations.

Well, no matter how much we loved unity, no matter how much the black cloud of dissension was hitting us and we were burning up our energies defending our fellow organizers, we could not accept admittance at that price and so the committee reported to the council and there you are. For six or eight months there has been no meeting of the committee established to confer with the CIO.

Now, when we were confronted with the same proposition by the miners, your council could not accept it. The council referred it to this convention. But you have the power to tell us to accept it or you have the power to adopt the report of the committee and send the matter back to the council and then give them the power to make the best settlement they can or perhaps no settlement at all.

You can decide at your next convention but pending your decision or approval remember—don't say you were misinformed—any agreement that the executive council enters into with the Mine Workers can be put into practice during the year after the agreement is reached. Understand that!

We now have something to guide us in our deliberations in endeavoring to adjust the differences between the United Mine Workers and the American Federation of Labor. First, the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union was part of the CIO. They withdrew from this federation. I am sure that there is no one today here that holds that against them because they left



the CIO and returned to this federation on the conditions set down by this federation.

Then we had the Machinists withdraw this year in May. I think their last per capita tax was paid in March or April. The Machinists, with membership of close to a half-million, returned to this federation upon the conditions set down by the executive council.

I said to you, I would support the report of the committee. I say to you now that whatever decision the council reaches during the year, the Teamsters will abide by it. I don't believe in this out-again in-again kind of comedy in these serious days of distress for our working people.

I believe that the majority rules and that if we believe in democracy in the nation, in the right of the majority to govern in industry, then we should govern ourselves by the decisions of the majority within this body.

And let me say this to you — no matter what political party is in power, they soon forget those that supported them if they believe they can get along without them, and that the only hope there is for the future of labor is solidification and unity and the right to use the franchise for or against any party that they believe is injurious to the principles and purposes of the working people.

**I want the Mine Workers back, but I want them back in such a way that greater confusion will not obtain on their return. I shall make any sacrifice within reason, as representing our own organization, and we have plenty of trouble. However, we haven't gone back in membership, as you will notice, but there is a price that is too great to pay for the admission of any organization outside. I am quite hopeful that the representatives of the United Mine Workers will not demand an unjust price for readmission.**

Maybe it won't be too great a price to pay, but every union in the CIO has the

right to demand admission into this federation and should be admitted, and if you admit one organization you cannot make or give special privileges to it over the others.

Take, for instance, the Steel Workers — I don't know what their membership is — but I do know that they admit to membership everybody in and around the mills.

You haven't got any right to question their membership.

If you admit the United Mine Workers on the proposition that they submitted to us in conference in Washington, you have got no right to question the membership of any of the organizations that left this federation, on their return — no matter who they have taken in.

There are some organizations in the CIO that were never chartered, but there are large numbers of men who were never allowed under the charter of the United Mine Workers that have been organized since they left the federation.

I am willing to risk the safety and protection of our rights as a part of this federation to the decision of the executive council even if I were not a member. I know and trust those men.

If, in the judgment of the council, they accept the application of the United Mine Workers, if they believe that is best, I shall abide by it.

But I say to you then you have no right to refuse to accept into the federation any organization now comprising the CIO or the railroad brotherhoods.

There is conflicting jurisdiction in at least one organization of the brotherhoods now outside of the federation.

Those are the points you ought to understand. I am sure you do, and in the face of all that I think you will be adopting the right course if you adopt the report of the committee and give your executive council a chance to delve into this question a little more, to endeavor to bring about a better understanding even for the membership of the Progressive Mine Workers.



## Fears 4 terms--Not for himself

**A** WESTERN senator now serving his fourth term fears a fourth term for President Roosevelt because he says it will "destroy democracy."

If it doesn't "destroy democracy" in the senator's home state for him to sit in congress until his pants fall off, how will it hurt democracy if the rest of the states elect a President for a fourth term if they want to?

The truth is that the western senator who is growing old on the public payroll fancies himself as presidential calibre. But he knows he can't be elected as long as Roosevelt runs.

Therefore, he opposes a fourth term. But he is not honest enough to reveal that his motive is his personal ambition. So, he says he opposes a fourth term to "preserve democracy." The same senator, however, was not so hot about a second term for Roosevelt. Was that to "preserve democracy" also?

The same motives that govern the actions of the senator from the sheep country also govern most of the other men who run a fever over a fourth term.

They want the job themselves.

We can understand that but we cannot understand how any man can stand up and say without smiling that democracy is in peril if the people exercise their judgment. What else is democracy?

The foundation on which American government rests is the expression of popular opinion in the selection of its officials. If the people want to retain a President in whom they have confidence, that is their privilege.

Men who advocate amending the constitution to prohibit the people from expressing their approval of any President more than once are laying the groundwork for dictatorship.

They are afraid of the people so they desire to restrict their basic right of suffrage.

With this right restricted, it will be easier for the reactionary apostles of "free enterprise" to substitute one trained seal for another as they did with some success in the past.

President Harding, in one term, did this nation more harm than any other President, with the exception of Hoover, could accomplish in a lifetime, no matter how hard he tried.

Yet nobody demanded that the presidency be limited to one term because of Harding. The same reactionaries who gave us Harding now insist that the people should lose the privilege of keeping Roosevelt. They crucified President Wilson because they knew he would not violate tradition by carrying his fight to the people and running for a third term.

But Roosevelt is made of tougher stuff. He took them on and licked them. Maybe they can lick him next time. But they can't make it retroactive.



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